BRITTAINS REMEMBRANCER: Or, the Nationall COVENANT.

As it was laid out in a Sermon Preached in the Minster at *Yorke*, before the *Right Honourable Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Lord Generall of all the Force raised in the *North*, for the King and Parliament, and the Honourable both Commissioners for the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, and the Standing-Committee for the County of *York*, upon Friday *Sep.* 20. 1644. when his Honour, with the said Commissioners Committee, and divers Knights, Gentlemen, and Citizens, solemnly took the Nationall Covenant.

By *Iohn Shaw* Preacher of Gods Word.

Jerem. 50. 5.

Come and let us joyn our selves to the Lord in a perpetuall Covenant that shall not be forgotten.

Nehem. 9. 38.

And because of all this we make a sure Covenant, and write it, and our Princes, Levites, and Priests seal unto it.

Nehem. 10. 29.

They clave to their Brethren their Nobles, and entred into a Curse, and into an Oath, to walke in Gods Law, which was given by Moses, &c.

The third Impression.

Printed at *Yorke*, by *Tho: Broad*, dwelling in Stone-Gate, over against the Starre, 1644.

To the Right Honourable, FERDINANDO Lord FAIRFAX, Lord Generall of all the *Northern* Forces, raised for the King and Parliament.

THis poor widdowed (though darling) Country, and these *Northern* parts have mourned in sable long, have lain among the Pots, *Psal.* 68. 13. and bin like *Ezekiels* dry bones, *Ezek.* 37. 12. *And when I looked on them, I could not but say with* Daniel, 9. v. 14. *The Lord our God is righteous in all his works which he doth, for we obeyed not his voice, and I sate like* Eli *in the Gate trembling, because of the Ark; or like* Moses *his sister*, Exod. 20. 4. *waiting what would become of my native Country, what the Lord would do with us.* Me thinks I have heard the Lord even reasoning with himself (as somtimes with his people of old) How shall I give thee up oh England? how shall I destroy you oh *Yorkeshire*, my bowels are rowled together? At last the most high visited us from heaven and looked downe upon our low estate, and heard our breathing and cry, *Lam.* 3. 59. as *Israel* somtimes, *Exod* 2. 23. and though wee are a sinfull people, yet hath God made that promise good to us, *Jer.* 51. 5. *Israel* hath not been forsaken, nor *Judah* of his God, the Lord of Hosts; though their Land was filled with sin against the holy one of *Israel*, God hath breathed upon these dry bones, and said unto us live, *Ezek.* 37. 3. and in some measure begun to make for us new heavens, and new earth, *Isa* 65. 17. Your Honour hath had a speciall share in both the conditions of this Country, and God hath honoured you both enabling you to adventure life, estate, and all, and in suffering much for him, *Act.* 5. 41. and in doing great things by you, even by small meanes, that the finger of God might the more be seen, *Zac.* 4. 6, 7. 10. (& is it not an honour and comfort to have an hand in Rearing up Sion, and pulling down Babylon, *Psal.* 137. 8, 9.) and in making you so eminent an Instrument in this great Work, and you have lived to see much of that notable promise made good to your Honour, *Isa.* 41. 12. God hath also honoured you with sweet experiments, delivering you many a time from the Lyon and the Bear; and when the enemies have had much power, policy, and craft, *Dan.* 8. 24, 25. yet have they come down by small means, *v.* 25. Wonder not (*Right Honourable*) if for this you hear or reade against you, the voice of *Treason, Treason*, such words have bin given out, and that by great ones too, against those who did nothing but what became honest men, and good subjects. 2 *King.* 11 14. and your Honour knowes that in the dayes of *R.* 2. of this Kingdom, there were divers persons gathered about the King (especially *Neuill* the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, *Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolke*, and

Lord

Lord Chancellor, *Treſilian* Lord chief Juſtice of *England*, and *Nicholas Brambre* ſometimes Major of *London*,) who perſwaded the King to abhor the Parliament, and the Acts therein made; and buzzed into the Kings eare, that the Statutes therein made, were prejudicial to the honour of his Crown, and Princely Prerogative; ſo that hee ſhould not now have power to doe any thing befitting a King, no not ſo much as to give a largeſſe to any never ſo well deſerving; drew the King from Weſtminſter (where he ſhould have bin) to the remoteſt parts of the Realm, raiſed up moneyes and forces, (under pretence for the King) drew the King to ſwear, that with all his power during his life, he ſhould maintain and defend them from all their enemies, and cauſed divers perſons (good ſubjects) to bee proclaimed *Traytors*, and that none (upon pain of forfeiture of all his goods) ſhould afford them Victuals, Armour, buy or ſell with them, &c. and cauſed the King to ſweare, that he with all his power would put them to death; and yet it appeared that thoſe *Parliamentarians*, who were ſo proclaimed *Traytors*, were good and loyall ſubjects, and divers of the other ſuffered death by the Lawes of this Land. I doubt not but your Honour can approve your heart to the Searcher of the Reins, and great Judge of all the world, that you ſeek nothing more then the advancement of Gods Truth, and his Majeſty and Kingdomes true good, and doe cordially deſire that with which Marqueſſe *Hamilton* cloſed up his Speech to his Majeſty in *Scotland*, concerning his return into *England*, *Sit in æternum Rex Carolus quem Deus nunc & in ſæcula ſæculorum defendat oro.* And I hope you may live to ſee that time when God wil perſwade our dread Soveraign to believe as much; And as a great and honourable perſon of this Kingdom deſired his Epitaph upon his Tombe, *Here lyes a friend of Sir Philip Sidny*; ſo when you have done Gods work, and ſerved him in your generation, and your ſilver hairs ſhall go down to the grave, you may have that upon your Tomb, *Here lyes a true, loyall, and faithfull Subject of King* Charles *the* 1st and yet you may ſay of this ſpacious Country (as the *Orator* tels of another) that you found it brick and left it marble, and have *Tullies* wiſh, *Duo autem hæc opto unum ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi maximum a diis immortalibus ſin clari nihil poteſt; alterum ut ita cui que eveniat ut de republica meruerit.* Only give me leave to adde a word (for which end I have laid the former) viz. to put your Honour in mind, to go on ſtill in honouring this God again; 1. By ſummoning up and recounting the wonders of God to you, *Pſal.* 106. 2. its four times repeated in *Pſal.* 107. *v.* 8, 15, 21, 31. and the want of this ſore reproved in *Iſrael*, *Pſal.* 78. 42. and 106. 13. 21. 2. By going through the hardeſt work that Chriſt cals you unto, both in doing and ſuffering cheerfully: *Sauls* ſervants offer *David* to be King, *Sauls* Son in law. *David* ſeemes to neglect and put it off, 1 *Sam.* 18. 22, 23. but within three verſes following, when they tell him of difficulties, and that he muſt ſlay 100. Philiſtines, and be avenged on the Kings enemies, and ſo be Son in law

to the King, it quickned *Davids* spirits, and the thing pleased him well, v. 25. 26. Gods two witnesses prophesied in sackcloth (sore affliction & mourning condition) 1260 years, in the end lye like dead men for three yeers and a half, and yet that inward comfort, and good Cause which they had, makes them account it but so many dayes, *Rev.* 11.3,9. 3. I humbly pray you to Gods poore afflicted Saints, to be like the Cloudy fiery pillar in the Wildernesse, the bright and fiery side whereof was towards the Church, and the dark and cloudy side toward the enemies. 4. Cary all this honour (as I doubt not but you doe) with a self-denying spirit, casting all the honour upon Christ, (like John the Baptist, *Mat.* 3.11.) who gave his life and blood for you, and cast all this honour upon you: like that gallant Roman, who being called from the Plough, routed the enemy, & returned to his Plough again. 5. Cary that great Emperours Resolution amongst your Army, that hee that will never serve God well, can never serve this Cause, nor your Honour well; And the rather considering what a God, what a Cause you have, how many thousand prayers at your back, what assistance God hath bin pleased to afford you, in a Religious, most gallant, and dutifull Son, Sir *T.F.* in a pious, faithfull, and tryed Lord Mayor, to govern the civill sword; in honourable, faithfull, and worthy, both Commissioners of the Kingdoms, and standing Committee for this County; as also considering what gallant Worthies of your * name and kindred, have dyed in this Cause of late (not inferiour to any of their rank) that so when your appointed time shall come, you may give up your account with joy, and not with griefe. I shall trouble your Lordship no more at present, save only to beg your Honours protection for these rude lines ensuing, preached by your Honors command, to which you vouchsafed an attentive eare, and afterwards willingly, and exemplarily took and subscribed the Covenant, so shall I be more emboldned to suffer those former notes of mine to see the light, which were long since commanded to the Presse, and shall most cordially subscribe my self,

My Lord,

Your Honours spirituall Servant, and daily Orator,

Yorke, Octob. 7. 1644.

JOHN SHAW.

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ir Will.
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TO

To the Christian Reader.

IF it trouble thee (good Reader) to see so bare a margin, so few Authors cited, or this Sermon come abroad in so homely and plaine a dresse; be pleased to take your Answer thus; 1. For Authors, my Bookes (yea and Papers) were plundered from me, above one yeer agoe, and I could never recover one of them since; & I live now so far distant from the Fountain, that I know not how to get new. 2. I received Commands for this Sermon not above three dayes at most ere it was preached (and that in distressing times.) 3. It being commanded to the Presse (by them that may command me) I had only time to write it once over, so as the Printer got it from me by peeces of sheets, as it was written, (which makes it somewhat more confused.) 4. (To speake plainly and truly) if thou expect much from me at best (especially now) I shall be most like to faile thy expectation; if in any thing I may be serviceable to Gods Church, and further his Cause, I have attained my ayme.

Again, though these Notes may not be helpfull to the Learned, yet perhaps to the weaker sort they may, as namely those that are without any setled Ministery; (for whose sake they were as I conceive, principally commended to the Presse) and chiefly to those for whom I mainly intended them, my dearly beloved friends at Lym, and Warburton in Cheshire, at Skerringham, to that kind and hungring people after the means of Grace, at Cartmell and Furnesse in Lancashire, as also my quondam neighbors of Kendall, and in Westmerland: (now the good Lord Christ, whose very bowels yearned over poore people when he saw them as sheepe not having a shepheard, send them some fiery pillar, to lead them through this Wildernesse to the good Land of Canaan, some bright shining starres that may lead them to Christ;) to these I say, and to some of the weaker and doubting people within this ancient City, they may be usefull at present and welcome.

I will not stay thee any longer (good Reader) at this time, save only to entreat for thy poor Mother England (sicke of a long and sore consumption) thy wrastling prayers and teares, and afford the craving and needfull Author (who begs no more) some of thy best helpe when thou hast sweetest communion with thy God.

And that thou mayest more clearly know what that Covenant is which thou art to enter into, and better remember it to keepe it, and better understand some passages in the ensuing Sermon; I thought good here to give thee in a Copy of the Covenant.

A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and defence of Religion, the Honour and happinesse of the King, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

WE *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospell, and Commons of all sorts in the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *by the Providence of God, living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our eyes, the glory of God, and the advancement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happinesse of the King's Majesty, and his Posteritie, and the true publike Liberty, safety, and peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is included, and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, and practises of the enemies of God, against the true Religion, and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdom of* Ireland, *the distressed estate of the Church and Kingdom of* England, *and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdom of* Scotland, *are present and publike testimonies: We have now at last (after other meanes of Supplications, Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings) for the preservation of our selves, and our Religion, from utter ruine and destruction, according to the commendable practise of these Kingdoms in former times, and the example of Gods people in other Nations; after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutuall and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do sweare:*

I. THat we shall sincerely, really & constantly, through the grace of God, indeavour in our severall places and callings, the preservation of the reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common enemies; the Reformation of Religion the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; & shall indeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the neerest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-government, directory for worship and Chatechizing: That we and our posterity after us, may as Brethren live in Faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II. That we shall in like manner without respect of persons, indeavor the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, (that is Church-government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchie) Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Prophanenesse, and whatsoever shall bee found

found to be contrary to found Doctrine, and the power of godlineſſe, leſt wee partake in other mens ſins, & thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdomes.

III. We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality and conſtancy in our ſeveral vocations, indeavour with our eſtates & lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſties perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witneſſe with our conſciences of our loyalty, & that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſties juſt power & greatneſſe.

IV. We ſhall alſo with all faithfulneſſe indeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have bin or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongſt the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publike tryall, and receive condign puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupream Judicatories of both kingdomes reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect, ſhall judg convenient. V. And wheras the happineſſe of a bleſſed Peace between theſe kingdoms, denyed in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good providence granted unto us, and hath bin lately concluded, & ſetled by both Parliaments we ſhall each one of us according to our place and intereſt, indeavour that they may remain conjoyned in a firme Peace and Union to all poſterity; and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilfull oppoſers hereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent Articles.

VI. Wee ſhall alſo according to our places and callings in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant in maintaining and purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion or terror, to be divided and withdrawne from this bleſſed Union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable indifferencie or neutrality in this Cauſe; which ſo much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but ſhall all the days of our lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power, againſt all lets and impediments whatſoever; & what we are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſſe or overcome, we ſhall reveale and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; All which we ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

And

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many ſins, and provocations a-gainſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits therof; we profeſſe and declare before God and the world our unfeigned deſires to be humbled for our own ſins, & for the ſins of theſe kingdoms; eſpecially that we have not as we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefite of the Goſpell; that we have not laboured for the purity and power therof; & that we have not indeavoured to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the cauſes of our ſinnes and tranſgreſſions, ſo much abounding among us; And our true & unfeigned purpoſe, deſire, and indeavour for our ſelves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publike and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a reall Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and Kingdoms in Truth & Peace. And this Covenant we make in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all harts, with a true intention to performe the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great day, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed, moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his holy ſpirit for this end, and to bleſſe our deſires and proceedings with ſuch ſucceſſe, as may be deliverance and ſafety to his people, and incouragement to other Chriſtian Churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of Antichriſtian Tyrannie; to joyne in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant, to the glory of God, the inlargment of the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace and tranquility of Chriſtian Kingdomes, and Common-Wealths.

BRITTAINS

BRITTAINS
REMEMBRANCER:
OR,
A Sermon Preached in York Minſter, Septem. 20, being *Friday*, 1644. about the Covenant; Upon 2 *CHRONICLES*, 15. 12.

And they entred into a Covenant to ſeeke the Lord God of their Fathers, with all their heart, and with all their ſoule.

RIght Honourable, and grave Aſſembly! We are here gathered this day together, about one of the greateſt and moſt ſolemne works (in ſome reſpects) that ever was done in *England* (I thinke) ſince it was a Nation; yea, ſince the firſt light was darted down upon it, from the bright Vault of the ſpangled Canopy of Heaven: for tell mee, Was it ever known, that *England*, nay, *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, this threefold Cord, which is *inſuperabilis, dum inſeparabilis*, did ever enter into a Solemne Nationall Covenant, (not one with another, but) joyntly with the Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God

of heaven and earth, and that when there was a Parliament sitting, being the representative Body of the Kingdome, and also a grave and learned Assembly of Divines, and the Honourable Commissioners from our Sister Kingdome of *Scotland* with them, and that about so great a businesse, as the Glory, Religion, and Cause of GOD, the Kingdomes Safety, Parliaments Priviledges, and Subjects Liberties, &c. And wherein (besides those then imployed in the Armies, Committees in this or other Countries:) there were then about 230 in the House of Commons (besides the Lords) who went before us in this great work. Now seeing we are here in the presence of so great and holy a God (to whom we should draw neere and joyne in Covenant this day, *Jerem.* 50. 5.) and in the presence of so grave an Assembly, and about so high and solemne a Work; that we may go through all profitably and happily, the speciall blessing of him that appeared in the Bush be with us, and prosper our Journey this day. I know in this Work we are compassed with many difficulties, and one of the main, and which hath most troubled my distracted thoughts, since I even now lately received commands for this service, is how to unclaspe the Covenant, and untye the knots about it, within the compasse of the allotted time; this I suspect as difficult, as to write *Homers* Iliads in a nutshell, or the Creed in the breadth of a two pence. However wee shall speedily step into the ship of the Text, and if there arise not very many crosse winds, we shall endeavour to accoast the shore with what good speed we may: and that you may the better see how suitable this text is to our times, and this occasion, that its not onely *commodum*, but *accommodum*, *verbum Dei in die suo*, like Apples of Gold, in Pictures of silver, let me a little untwist the thread of the cohærence, and it is thus.

In the Chap. 13. you have two great Armies, and Generals, (as also its now in our Kingdome) both plead they are in the right; *Abijah* pleads that he stands for the Truth, the House and Priviledges of his Father *David*, and *Jeroboam* saith no lesse; but *Abijah* brings three arguments (among others) to prove that he is in the right.

First, saith he, the main Body of *Jeroboams* Army, are but of loose lives, vain men, Swearers, Cursers, &c. *verse* 7.

Secondly, in *Jeroboams* Army, saith he, are Golden Calves, Idolatry, (I had almost said Masses and Popery) *verse* 8.

Thirdly, where ever this Army comes (saith he) never a Godly Minister dare tary, but onely a many of temporizing Priests, *verse* 9. But

with

with us (saith *Abijah*) it's quite contrary in all the particulars, *ver.* 10, 11, 12. and therefore we are in the right: well, the Armies joyn battel, the enemy was double in number, *ver.* 3. and the more skilfull, bold souldiers, *verse* 13. (However the Duke of *Saxonies* Motto will prove true in the end, *Tandem bona causa triumphat*:) at last, (I wish all souldiers to take notice, how the good party prevailed) not by might, nor by power, nor number, but because they relyed upon the Lord their God, *verse* 18. After this they set upon the great Worke of Reformation, *Chap.* 14. *verse* 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. (as, blessed be God, there is an endeavour amongst us this day) but for all the former victory, and the present endeavour of Reformation, think not to be free from opposition; for after this, *verse* 9. comes the great Æthiopian (or Arabian) Army that ever we read of in any Storie; they were about 400000. men more then King *Asa's* Army, *verse* 8, 9. (yet, *Tandem bona causa triumphat*) in the end, they (or rather God for and by them, *verse* 12. conquered that great Army of *Zerah* and *Cushite*, pursued the enemy, slew many, and spoiled their quarters, *verse* 13, 14, 15. and would you souldiers know what it was? because they relyed on the Lord God, *verse* 11. still. And now do you think after this Marston Moore great Victory (as I may call it) now all shall be quiet? and that now they may say with *Agag*, The bitternesse of death is past? No, afflictions attend the Church (therefore never be secure) like waves of the Sea one dashing in the necke of another, or like stones in a wall (when an old building is pulled down) one falling on the back of another, for the next news is, *Chap.* 15. *v.* 6, 7. *That there was no Peace to him that came in, or to him that went out.* but Nation was destroyed of Nation, and City of City (as it is now with us) and see the cause of it, want of pure Ordinances, and the power of Religion, *v.* 3. sin puts down Judgments. At last, *Asa* sets upon a Soveraign, Nation-helping, and healing Remedie, and that is Reformation, *verse* 12. and entring into Covenant with God, in my Text.

Wherein consider, first the great businesse they are about, viz. a *Covenant*. Secondly, what the main substance of that Covenant is, viz. *To seeke the Lord God of their Fathers*. Thirdly, the manner how, *With all their heart, and with all their soule*. Fourthly, who were the *Covenanters*, *not one man, or one family, one Riding, Countrey, or Kingdome, but two Sister-Nations*, (I had almost said an *England*, and a *Scotland*,) *v.* 5. *Judah* and many of *Israel*, (a *Nationall Covenant*.) Fifthly, with whom they Covenanted, *Not with other Countries, or one with another, but with the great God,*

verse 14. Sixthly, the event and successe of this, both the swifter going on of the Work of Reformation, the main blocks are now removed presently, *v.* 16. *Asa* removes even the Queen Mother (who had an obscœne and Idolatrous Grove) from being Queene, (and though the high places dedicated to God, were not taken away, *v.* 17. yet those dedicated to Idols were removed, *chap.* 14. *verse* 3. and also quietnesse and peace was setled in the Land, *v.* 19. I may not like *Plinies* Bees stay sucking every leafe, but must with *Gideons* souldiers onely lap and away; and therefore let me graspe up all at once for haste, in this one plain point, *viz.* *That the holy and solemne entring into, and observing of a pious Nationall Covenant with God, is a thing very pleasing to God, and very helpfull to a Church and State*: so here, *verse* 16, 19. For proofe, see that *Deut.* 29. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. (the Text is a fit Resemblance of our meeting here this day.) *Keepe therefore the words of this Covenant and do them, that yee may prosper in all that yee doe; yee stand this day all of you before the Lord your God, your Captains of your Tribes, your Elders and your Officers, with all the men of Israel, &c. that thou shouldest enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his Oath, which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this Day, that hee may establish thee to day, &c.* See president also for so doing; thus did *Hezekiah*, 2 *Chron.* 29. 10. *and God was pleased, verse* 10. *and the Church comforted, verse* 36. So *Josiah* 2 *Chron.* 34 31, 32, 33. But the thing is cleer, onely it may be questioned, in what cases, and upon what occasions may a Nation enter Covenant with God? I will onely name four at present, as most suitable to us, and which wee shall have occasion to apply anon. 1. When some sore distresse and calamity is upon a Nation for the removing whereof, they enter Covenant with God; thus in this *Chap.* 2 *Chron.* 15. 5, 6. *There was no peace to him that went out, nor him that came in, but great vexations, then they entred into Covenant, &c.* So upon this occasion did *Hezekiah* strike Covenant with God, 2 *Chron.* 29. 8, 9. 10. 2. After God hath afforded some great deliverance or mercy to a Nation: thus when *Israel* was come out of their long Captivity of *Egypt* they entred into Covenant with God at Mount Horeb, and so when the Jews were come out of the 70 years captivity of Babylon, they strooke Covenant with God, (as we shall shew anon.) Thus did *Jehoida*, and the Kingdome after the delivery of the Kingdome from that bloody Monster *Athalia*, 2 *Kings* 11. 17. &c. Thus did *Joshua* and the people after God had brought them into the promised Land of *Canaan*, Josh. 24. 25, 26. 3. When we desire, and are in expectation of some great mercie, but still something hinders it, some blocks lye in the doore, (still

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the Work sticks, *Hos.*13.14.) Thus in *Ezra's* time, when though a free Proclamation made for the building of the Temple, and the Work of Reformation, brave Worthies about the Work, &c. yet it stickes, or rather goes backward; then comes *Ezra, chap.*10.35. and after him *Nehemiah, chap.*9. *ult.* and 10.29. and covenant with God! So when *Israel* were come neere the Land of Canaan (forty yeere after their Covenant in Horeb) they renew their Covenant, *Deut.*29.9, 10, 11. 4. When a Kingdome hath long layen under some grosse sins, errors, Idolatry, corruptions in Doctrine or Practise; for their removall, and to helpe on the Work of Reformation, they Covenant with God; thus 2 *Chron.*15 3—12. and 2 *Chron.*29.6, 7—10. and 2 *Chron.*34.25—31. But I must break off this in haste, for I see more Corn on the floore, then wee can go through this day; let us after Scripture a little consult reason.

Holy entring into Covenant with God, is a way for a poor distressed Nation to be at peace with God. I heare many say, God send us peace betwixt the King and Kingdome, betwixt one County, City and another: Ah! but first beg Peace and Reconciliation twixt God and the Kingdom, God and the Country; Many weepe for, and cry out of the troubles, plunderings, assessements, but few of the abominations, and these make-bate, and break-peace sins of our poore sicke County, and consuming Land, *Ezek.*9.3, 4. But looke as it is with a man in a shippe that is Sea-sick, he removes from one side of the ship to the other, from one end and place to another, or a sick man in his bed, tossing from one side of the bed to the other, yet finds no ease till hee hath cast up that burden that oppressed his stomacke; so with our Land, till that sinne that hinders peace with God be removed; now a Covenant is a way of agreement, betwixt two disagreeing parties, its the ender of strife, *Heb.*6.16. when men are at variance, this is the way of peace betwixt them; its a joyning our selves to the Lord to be at one with him, *Jer.*50.5. Its nothing else but an agreement or bargain betwixt certain parties, either for the beginning a confirming of peace, love, &c. ratified by some outward solemnity; yea, its a way to joyn us to God, as husband and wife are joyned, so as we have a joynture and interest in the husbands estate, *Gen.*29.34. *Hos.*2.19, 20. *Reas.* 1.

Its a way to remove wrath from a Land, 2 *Chron.*29.10. *Reas.* 2.

Its a way to binde and tye our flinching hearts more firmly to God, to make us go fully and through stich in the most difficult duties, notwithstanding the hardest rubs; thus in text, 2 *Chr.*15. After this Covenant, *v.*6. *Asa* removed the very Queen-mother from being Queene, *Reas.* 3.

and cut down her Idoll, and ſtamped it, and burnt it, &c. Its a great quickning and preſſing tye to a man, when he remembers that I have opened my mouth to the Lord, *Judges* 11.35. *I have lift up my hands to the moſt High God, to do this or that, I cannot go backe*: This was one motive Sir *Edw. Deering* ſaith, that brought him backe to the Parliament from *Oxford*, when he remembred his Proteſtation which he had taken, to ſtand for the honour of the King, and priviledges of Parliament; for though I might fancie (ſaith he) that I ſtood for the King, (that is, his perſonall Commands and pleaſure) yet I could not imagine that I ſtood for the Parliament and its priviledges; but returning to *London*, I could be aſſured that I ſtood for the King (that is, his legal power, and indeed regall) & for the Parliament. Thus ſee how they went throughly in this buſineſſe after the Covenant, 2 *Chron.* 29.10. with 11.15, 18. and 12 *Chron.* 34.31,--33. As long as a man is onely ſuitor to a Virgine, ſhe perhaps ſees his houſe and goods, but ſhe ſets not throughly about the affairs of of the houſe; but after the marriage Covenant is knit, ſhe ſets about the work with all diligence: But I haſten to an Uſe, and its time that I ſhould, and becauſe the main buſineſſe of this day calls for our ſtay in the third Uſe, I will onely point at the former, which are,

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Uſe 1. To informe us of one great cauſe why the great work of deſired Reformation ſtops, why its Chariots are ſo long in coming, and drive ſo heavily; ſurely this may be well one, Want of a pious entring into, and holy obſerving of a Nationall Solemne Covenant with the Lord our God. Though *Ezra* 1. *Cyrus* made a free Proclamation for liberties and materials towards the re-building of *Jeruſalem*, though the two anointed ones ſate about the Worke, though foundation laid, though they faſted and prayed, *Zach.* 7.3,5. yet the Worke ſtayed a hundred years at leaſt, till they entred Covenant with God in *Nehemiahs* time the Work would not on. We crie out, *Alas, the Children are come to the birth, and no ſtrength to bring forth*, 2 Kings 19.3. Hoſ. 13,14 *Alas, the harveſt is come, the Summer is ended and we are not helped*, Jer. 8.20. but may not the Lord ſay to us, as *David* to *Eliab*, 1 Sam. 17.29. *Is there not a Cauſe, &c.*

Uſe 2. The ſecond Uſe is for reproof of three ſorts:

First, ſuch as will not enter into ſuch a holy Nationall Covenant: many are like the Iſraelites, when they were in Egypt, and found the preſſure of the taxes, burthens, &c. oh then they cried for a day of delivery, they were never able to abide there; but when God offered them means of delivery, oh then *I would to God* (ſay they) *that we were*

in (idolatrous and Tyrannicall) *Egypt againe*; our Physicke is worse then the Disease: Many are like those dirty Potters, 1 *Chron.* 4.23. had rather dwell among the plants and hedges, then adventure any difficulties for the helping of a dying deare Mother: nay, rather like *Gebal, Ammon*, and *Amaleke*, Covenant against this way; like *Tobiah* and *Sanballat*, and those Samaritans of a mungrell Religion, are vexed at heart when they heare that *Jerusalems* Wall is in building; as *Herod* and *Jerusalem* were, when they heard that Christ was borne; had rather joyne with Papists, and Irish Rebels, pretending to maintaine the Protestant Religion (and so did *Herod* to worship Christ) —— but I spare.

Secondly, it reproves those who do enter into this Covenant for by-ends, with rotten hearts, as that so joyning themselves, and thus siding with the Parliament, they may the more unsuspectedly espy out their Liberties, Plots, Designes, and Wayes, discover them to the enemy, and betray and hinder the Work; just as those Samaritans, *Ezra* 4.2. would needs joyne with *Judah* and *Benjamin* to build the Temple. *Come* (say they) *let us build with you, for wee seeke the Lord your God as you do*; but their aime was to undermine, betray them, and to stop the Worke, *verse* 5,6. And 2. those that do it for saving their estates or meanes, or gaining some Advantage, Rise, or Reputation, some great friends favour, and places in the World; thus did *Hamon* and *Sechem* perswade the people to be circumcised (which was a Seale of the Covenant) only for this, by—— and beastly end, that so their Cattell and substance might be theirs, *Gen.* 34.22,23. 3. That doe it meerely for feare, lest they should be sequestred, or punished, &c. for feare of this man, this Army, or that Commander, or some danger that may fall thereon; thus when *Mordecai* and his side prevailed, and *Haman* went down the wind, many of the people of the Land became Jewes, *for the feare of the Iewes fell upon them*, Esth. 8.17.

Thirdly, reproves those that having entred into this Covenant, make no conscience, take no care to keepe it; yet deal with God, as *Zedekiah* dealt with the King of *Babylon*, (take heed that God deale not with them, as *Nebuch.* did with *Zedech.*) Jer. 52.9,10,11. they forget the Covenant of the Lord, *Psal.* 78.10,37. as *Matthias Corvinus* forgate his owne name, so they their vow, or if they remember it, yet as easily break their bonds, and cast these cords from them, as ever *Sampson* did the greene Withs, *Judg.* 16.9. or the new Ropes, *v.* 12. but of this hereafter.

I come now to the third and main Use, which is of Exhortation; which

which I will give you in the words of the children of Israel & Judah, when they were returning, and going about a great Work of Reformation, Jer. 50.4,5: *Come and let us joyne our selves to the Lord in a perpetuall Covenant that shall not be forgotten*; and have we not just cause if you look at those four Cases forementioned, wherein Gods people have entred into Covenant with God: for if miseries, distresses, and calamities of a Kingdome may quicken us, are not we by reason of these civill (*uncivill*) wars, become a Kingdome divided, *Ephraim* against *Manasse*, Father against the Son, Brother against Brother? Are not wee in the same case with Judah, in this 2 *Chron.* 15.5,6. *Nation destroyed of Nation, and city of city*; Hath not God ridden circuit upon his Red horse of war, *Rev.* 6. and kept assises all England over? have not many a *Josiah* and *Mary* (in these daies) bin fain to take up their child, and fly their country, *Mat.* 2.14. Nay, many of the Saints bin dispersed and scattered, husband and wife, brother & sisters, dearest friends (many of whom never meete again in this world) as was the Church at Jerusalem in *Sauls* time, Act. 8. *In many places the wayes to Sion mourn, Lam.* 1.4. *and the high wayes are unoccupied*, as *Judg.* 5.6. *many people cry for bread for their soules, and there is none to break it*; except such as when the people aske bread, they give them a stone, and for a fish, a Scorpion: what County City, Parish, or Hamlet have not bin overflowed with these inundations, 2 *Sam.* 5.20. *bin hacked with this Battel-axe, Jer.* 48.38. *scorched with this fire, Ezek.* 28.18. (witnesse especially *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, how many have tasted the Divels malice in the plundering, *Chaldeans & Sabeans, Job.* 1.15,17.

Secondly, againe if you looke at sinnes and errours of a Kingdome have we not need to enter into Covenant? have we not some errours established formerly by a Law, (Non-residencies, Pluralities, dumb Ministers) some by Canon, some by Rubrick, some by Proclamation, some by errours in Doctrine, (Popery, Heresies, Atheisme, &c.) some in Discipline, some in Practise: of all sorts of men, all Sexes, of all sorts of sins, and places? may not we say as *Cornelius a lapide* saith on *Isa*: 24. 13,14. *propter pecca a populi principes & prelati excæcantur*, our great men and Prelats go blindly astray, because of the Hypocrisie and Superstition of the people, *v.* 13.

Thirdly, if you look at mercies; have wee not great cause to enter Covenant! how have these Kingdomes been compassed with superlative mercies, and what Victories hath God wrought in *Ireland*, what Deliverances in *Scotland*, what Miracles in *England*? how may *Engla-*

ſay, and *Scotland* and *Ireland* ſing, Gods mercy endures for ever? How may *London*, *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Wales* ſay, Gods mercy endures for ever? have not theſe two Sister Kingdomes beene firmlyer knit by former breaches? *Ireland* purged by occaſion of thoſe who meant to ruine it? Victories obtained when our Armies weakeſt; witneſſe, *Wetherbie*, *Wakefield*, *Selbie*, &c. deepeſt Plots diſcovered by the Plotters; who diſcovered the Plot to bring up the northern Army againſt the Parliament, for themſelves? who diſcovered Sir J. H. Plots, out his owne Letters found at Heſſam Moore? who haſtned the entring this City (who had endured a long Siege by two Nations) but P. R. great Army? ſhould wee ſet up pillars in all places that God hath Crowned with Victories, our Northern County would be as full pillars, as formerly of Croſſes; witneſſe, *Welbecke*, *Bolſover*, *Wingfield*, *Sheffield*, *Walton*, *Mountgomery*, but eſpecially, *Hull* and *Heſſam*-Moore, that God ſhould call, hope, deliver, work by a Parliament ſo wonderfully; that God ſhould begin with us in the Vale of Red-horſe, ſhine on us at Newbery, and ſtill appear in the Mount.

But fourthly, if wee look at mercies deſired, expected, but yet ſtill in the birth; how have we cryed a long time, Why ſtay the wheels of his Chariots ſo long: how did we three years agoe expect halcyon dayes, ſee the Vials powred on the Beaſt, Babylon fall, to ſee Chriſts Kingdome erected, and thought ſtill, if this man removed, that Army raiſed, the Victory obtained, then the Work is done: how do our hearts pant to ſee Chriſt ſitting on his Throne, to ſee Truth and a Peace (of Gods making) eſtabliſhed; to ſee his Majeſty and great Councell happily united, and the top-corner-ſtone finiſhed, that we might ſay, many Parliaments have done vertuouſly, but thou haſt excelled them all; that we might hear the Kingdome ſing, as the people of *Saul* and *David*, *Other Parliaments have ſlaine one thouſand foules in Church and State, but this ten thouſand*: but yet as in (*Zerubbabell* and *Joſhuas* time,) the work is hindered. We have cauſe enough, and motives enough, to enter Covenant with God. But the great ſcruple is (either reall or pretended) whether this be a lawfull Covenant, and whether one may ſafely take it or not.

The Caſuiſt (as I remember) ſay, that to right Vowing foure things are requiſite. 1. That the perſon vowing be *ſui juris*, and that the thing which he vowes be within his generall or particular calling. 2. That the matter be poſſible, lawfull, and of moment. 3. That for the Form:

it be done freely and willingly. 4. The end, *viz.* the glory of God, and the better performance of our duty.

The Scripture saith, that an Oath should be made in Truth (both *Logicall* and *Morall.*) 2. in judgment (deliberately, considerately, and not rashly.) and 3. in righteousnesse (the authority enjoyning sufficient, matter lawfull, occasions just, &c.)

But against these its objected, 1. that there wants sufficient authority to enjoyne this Nationall Covenant, for that there is not the Kings Majesties Command or consent; nay, that its a Covenant (or confederacy) against the King, and against the Oath of Allegeance. 2. That there is no necessity or occasion of such a Covenant. 3. That many things in it are unlawfull; *dura verba*! Let us weigh all these a little, and as I have hitherto learned, and according to that light which I have yet received, I shall acquaint you with my thoughts.

To the first, I have answered at my last being here more fully, and at large [*about the Kingdomes Case*] which by command should have come forth ere now, but that this *Pharez*-like, hath broke out before his elder brother, *Gen.* 38. 29. At present onely this, the King is considered in a double capacity, either personall or politique, and so his Commands are either personall or legall; and when ever (even in the best times of peace) the Kings personall Commands are opposite to his Legall, (yea but to the sentence of any inferiour Court not legally reversed) his legall Commands must be obeyed, when these crosse each other its our misery. Suppose the King command thee or mee to kill such an innocent man out of his passion or pleasure, its murder in us, and deserves death if we do it (though wee have the Kings personall commands,) because its against his legall commands; nay, I have read that if the King should command thee or mee to take up Arms against the Justices of Assise, or some Parliament men while they are discarging their Offices, and to kill and slay them, in case they will not reverse some sentence judicially passed against the King, &c. In a case belonging to their cognizance, and we accordingly do the said command, we shall be guilty of high Treason, though we have the Kings command: yea and some have been adjudged to be, and executed as Traytors (though of the Kings owne servants and counsell) who have executed the Kings commands to the prejudice of the Kingdome: but never was any so adjudged for obeying the commands of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, though against the King

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verball Commands. The Kings Jegall power is in his Courts, and the sentence thereof is in the sentence of the King, though his person be absent, and his personall commands cannot reverse it: yea, though the suit be betwixt the Subject and the King, and the sentence passe against the King, yet that sentence is the sentence of the King, though passed against his mind, and must stand: how much more then is the Kings legall power in his highest Court of Parliament, which is the ultimate Judge of the Law, hath power to conserve or make void the Kings own Grants, Patents, Proclamations; as old Lord *Burleigh* said, (approved and cited by King *James* in a Speech of his) *I know not what lawfull thing it is, that a Parliament cannot doe.* This Covenant then hath the authority of the Kings legall power (which is his Regall and prime power) and his Parliament which sure, are the highest power in the land, though it may want his personall command. I find not that *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had the Kings personall Command, when they drew the people into a Covenant, *Ezra* 10. and *Nehemiah* 9. and 10. and I cannot see any sense in saying, that this is against our Oath of Allegeance, which binds us *ad legem*, and to obey the King *secundum*, and not *contra legem*; nay, if the Kings personall commands were to be obeyed above their legall, to what purpose were Lawes, what were our lives, estates, and libertie worth in case Kings were misled at any time by temptation, bad counsell, &c? much lesse can it be said to be against the King (considered in his politique capacity) especially seeing part of the Covenant is, to preserve and defend the Kings Majesties person and authority, *Sect.* 3. I wish from my soule that party may succeed best, that wisheth and intends best and most for King *Charles* his true good and honour. I know both *Athalia* the Queene 2 *Kings* 11.14. and *Haman* the Courtier, *Esth.* 3. 8, 9. called those men traytors, and the Kings enemies, that were best friends, and truest subjects both to King and kingdome; but of this more fully before. If an inferiour Court hath power to demand an Oath, though the Kings person and consent be not there, how much more the Supreme Court of Judicature?

Rom. 13. 1, 2.

When our brethren of *Germany* in *Luthers* time seeing the wickednesse of Popes pardons and other Popish trash, entred into a Protestation (whence they and we are called Protestants, and our Religion, the Protestant Religion) and protested to stand to, and maintaine the Doctrine that *Luther* taught according to Gods word; had they

any command or consent of the Emperour their Liege Lord? Naya was sore against his mind, yet hitherto thought just. So when certaine Provinces in the low Countreys joyned and united themselves, and covenanted together to maintaine their Religion and civill Liberties, had they any consent of the King of *Spaine* their Soveraigne? yet did Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* and King *Charles* approve their fact. So did our brethren of *Scotland* Covenant lately, much to the same purpose that we doe; yet both King and Parliament have cleared them, and King *Charles* in his Speech at his last returne from *Scotland*, saith, he left the *Scots* a happy people: and had he thought the States of the united Provinces to be Rebells, neither would he have assisted them any way, nor have matched his Daughter with the Prince of *Orange*.

Secondly, for the necessity & occasion of taking it, we have shewed it in four particulars before, I onely adde, if we looke either, 1. at God, whom we desire to be reconciled to our Land, *Heb.6.16. and his wrath removed*, 2 *Chron.29.10.* or, 2. at the great worke of God now in hand, which is much stopped, as in *Ezra* and *Nehemiahs* time, and may be helped: or 3. at other Kingdomes who have entred into Covenant for our helpe, and why should we be loose, and they bound, and adventure all they have? Or, 4. at our own Kingdome; see how (as in *Isaacs* time, *Gen.26.* by the Philistines) our Wels have been stopped, the Well of Prayer before Sermon, and in private; the Well of Preaching at least in afternoon; the Well of Doctrine and Discipline, and of the Lawes of the Land: when Armies are raised against the Parliament, (many in which Armies are Irish Rebels, Papists, &c.) and is there not a cause then to enter into Covenant, and lift up our hands to the most high God, when men under pretence of being a Guard to the King, get the King to be a guard to them?

Thirdly, for the lawfulnesse of it, whereas it is said, that many things in it are unlawfull; let us a little anatomize and view the particulars of it, and they may be reduced to four heads. The matters in the Covenant either concern, 1. God and Religion, or 2. other Kingdomes as well as our own, or 3. our own Kingdome, or 4. our particular persons.

First, concerning such matters as are about Religion, its either of the setting up and maintaining of what is good, or 2. suppressing of what is evill. 1. For the setting up and maintaining of what is good

in the first Section, [*That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God,* &c.

Q. 1. And here some move two great scruples, 1. Why should I covenant to preserve the reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, worship, Discipline, and Government, &c. seeing I know not what their Religion, Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline is: it may be Popery, Heresie, or Blasphemy, for ought that I know. 2. If I did know, what is their Doctrine or Worship to me, or what have I to do with it?

An. To this I answer, 1. thou mayest know what their Religion, Doctrine, Discipline, &c. is, their Confession of Faith, &c. their Bookes are extant to be read (too long to relate in a Sermon, much more in a briefe and scantling:) 2. A Justice of Peace sweares to doe Justice according to the Lawes of the Land, he hath the Statute Booke to reade, Lawyers or Parliament men to consult: so mayest thou consult their Bookes, their Ministers and Officers with us. 2. I conceive (till I am better informed) that a man may lawfully take an Oath, the utmost extent of every particular whereof he fully knoweth not when he sweares: in this one text did *Asa* and all his people know the utmost extent of all the particulars therein contained, and when *Jehoiada* caused young *Joash* and the people to enter into Covenant, did they understand all the particulars? A Justice of Peace sweares to do justice according to the Lawes of the Land, doth that Justice of Peace know all the particular Statutes? but the meaning in common intendment is, so far as they shall be made known to me, to be the Lawes and Statutes of the Land: so here, so far as it is made known to me to be the Religion of *Scotland*. 3. Let the Religion, Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of *Scotland* be what it will, yet are here three restrictions in the words that (I conceive) will fully cleere the case. 1. We are but to indeavour the preservation of it, [*so farre as agreeable to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches*] for that these Words have reference as well to the preservation of *Scotlands* Doctrine and Discipline, as the Reformation of *Englands*, I am induced to believe both from the words themselves, from reason, and because a reverend Divine, and one of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, when this Covenant was penned, who also Preached in the City of *London* at the taking of it there, and whose Sermons came forth in Print with very good allowance and approbation, doth so understand it; as also, I have heard it so interpreted at a meeting of many Reverend Divines,

I have also heard some members of the Parliament thus expound it.

in another County, (*mutuo contradicente*,) 2. Wee covenant to preserve it [*against the common enemy*] Papists, and such like: And thirdly, not that we are to pull downe this thing, or erect that of our selves, or goe into other Kingdoms about it; but [*in our places and callings.*] Now who needs to scruple or doubt, but that so far it shall be made knowne to me, to be the Doctrine, Worship, &c. of *Scotland*, and agreeable to the infallible Word of God, and so far as its against Popery, and the common enemy, I may lawfully in my place and calling endeavour the preservation of it.

Quest. 2. But what need wee covenant to indeavour the reformation of Religion in Doctrine, Worship, &c. in the Kingdom of *England*, seeing I know not of any reformation that it needs? for ought that I can see, its one of the purest Churches in Christendome, and hath been thought so by most learned men.

Ans. Let me answer to this in the words of *Jeremiah*, *chap.* 28. 6. *Amen*! I wish with all my heart it were so; nevertheless, I feare (as *Jeremiah* here) it will be found otherwise, and that both high and low have fowly corrupted their wayes, and both that Common-Prayer booke which was set forth in the beginning of *Edw.* 6. his Reigne; and this which hath been conveyed to us, acknowledge a need of reformation.

Ob. But not of our Doctrine? *Ans.* If by Doctrine of *England* you mean the 39. Articles, they need at least a great clearing; for may not some needfull truths be added, more needfull then *Art.* 35? 36.? (if those can be called matter of Doctrine) have not the Remonstrances challenged some of them, as *Art.* 16? have not the Papists claimed them all (as reconcileable with their mire and clay) *Dan.* 2. 33, witnesse *Dawson* an English-man (so they say was his name, who stiles himselfe *Franciscus a sancta clara*) but this will appear more fully when we see the labours of the Reverend and learned Assembly of Divines) So needs not our Discipline, Reformation? witnesse one point (among many) of Excommunication; was it done by those parties that had just Authority? was it not that heaviest Church-rod, oft times laid upon the conscientious men? and oft times for doing nothing but what they ought to doe, (as for going to another Parish to heare Gods Word, when they had no food at home? which yet themselves would doe for bread, water, or bodily food, *&c.* for little errours and trifles (when the great flyes broke through, and that scale which had most gold was false) whereas Reverend *Beza* saith, That in all his time there were not [illegible] the

three or four excommunicated in all *Geneva*, as being a cenſure (*viz.* delivering men up unto Sathan) too heavy for leſſer crimes: we may not (ſaith a Godly Divine) kill a knat upon the brow of our neighbor with a beetle. So for worſhip, if all things in our forme of worſhip were (after deep canvaſing) found lawfull, yet being diſputable (at beſt not neceſſary) but penned and framed by men; if it give offence to many godly men and tender conſciences, and help to hold up an idle dumb miniſtery, (if I may ſo call it) who can doe nothing elſe but reade; and is occaſion in many ignorant and carnall people, of contempt of the Goſpell (& by conſequent of hurting their ſouls woefully, *Act.* 13.46.) who deifying, reſting upon, and ſatisfying themſelves with a forme of prayer, neglect and contemn the publique Miniſtery; all theſe laid together, why may we not in our places and callings endeavour a Reformation hereof, when there is ſufficient authority going before, and warranting the ſame?

The next thing in the Covenant, is for ſuppreſſing and extirpation of what is ill, (*Sect.* 2. and that either ſuch as is generally (among the Proteſtant Churches) granted to be ill, as Popery, Superſtition, Schiſme, Prophaneneſſe, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound doctrine, and the power of godlineſſe. Or ſecondly, ſuch as is more queſtionable, & receives more debate amongſt the godly learned viz. Prelacie, that is, Church-government, by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deanes, Deanes and Chaptets, Arch-deacons, and ſuch like: Now concerning this Prelacy, (as it exceeds the Presbyters Office) and (as it hath beene in *England* a long time) there are three opinions chiefly prevalent. Firſt, of them that hold this Epiſcopacy to be *Jure Divino*, (and ſo neceſſary) either *jure Divino primario*, having precept or preſident in Scripture: or, *ſecundario*, having faire hints from Scripture, being conſonant thereto: and having beene in the Apoſtles and primitive times, and downward to our times. Secondly, of them that conceive it to be Antichriſtian (and ſo unlawfull) or (as Mr. *Wh.* in his Speech in this Parliament) *A branch of the Hierarchie of Rome, and of Antichriſt, of which it is propheſied*, *Revel.* 14.11. That they ſhall not have any reſt day nor night, that receive any print of the name of the Beaſt. Thirdly, of them that thinke it is *jure humano*, (in it ſelfe indifferent) a meere prudentiall way, having their power onely from Princes and the temporall Laws, for the better governing of the Church, (as Maiors, Aldermen, Sheriffes, &c.

the

the Common-wealth) and may by the same humane power be continued or removed, as they finde it convenient or inconvenient to the Church.

Now they that are of the second opinion, need not to scruple this Covenant, if they think this Hierarchy, or, (as some call it) spirituall Monarchy, to be simply unlawfull, they may very well (being called thereto by Authority) covenant the extirpation of it.

For the first opinion, that holds it *Jure Divino*;

First, it seemes a strange thing to me, (and which I think hath had very few abettors, (except of latter times) to conceive that Archbishops, Diocesan Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and such other Officers (mentioned in the second Section) should have either precept or president in Scripture.

Ob. But are not Bishops mentioned in Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 3. 1, 2, 3. *Tit.* and their Office commended?

An. The very Papists do not conclude, but dispute whither Bishops be *jure divino*; and scarce did ever Protestant hold it till of late years, but the Archbishops, Deans, Arch-deacons, &c. are *jure divino*, scarce did ever any Christian hold till our dayes. The Lawes of England have annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, not onely all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, but also all superiority over the Ecclesiasticall state, and it is to be derived from the King by Commission under the great Seale, and if so, then can it bee but *jure humano* at most. Wee no way Covenant here to extirpate such Bishops as are mentioned in Scripture; no, nor doth this Covenant meddle with all inequality, or superintendency amongst Ministers, (as in some other Churches, if any such can be found not dissonant to sacred Writ;) but onely here is condemned such Prelacie as hath bin in England: *Prelacie, that is Government by Arch-bishops, Bishops*, &c.

2. I conceive (and so doe the Reverend Assembly of Divines at Westminster) that Scripture-Bishops are no more than Presbyters (tho we will agree that the Apostles had no Successors (no more Peter himself) in their Apostolicall function, but that ceased with them. For, tho there could not well be more Diocesan Bishops then one, in one City or Town constantly residing, but as *Philippi* in *Macedonia*, and *Ephesus*, *Phil.* 1. 1. *Act.* 20. 28. there were more Scripture-Bishops then one.

Ob. But there might be many Parishes in *Ephesus* and *Philippi*?

Ans.

*An.*1. So are there in *York* City, and Chappelries or Congregations in *Hallifax*, and else-where; yet no Dioceses or Diocesan Bishops. 2. The old translation of *Tindall* cals it the Congregation of *Ephesus*, and *Eusebius* cals it the Parish of *Ephesus*.

Secondly, the Scripture cals Bishops no more but Elders or Presbyters, *Act.*20.*v.*17. called Elders, the same persons, *v.*28. called Bishops, (and though we acknowledge the last translation of the Bible to be a great mercy, and blesse God for the Translators, and them for God; yet some Learned and Godly Divines think, that some great ones who oversaw the Presse then, when they came to matters of Monarchie, or Episcopacie, then wittingly stretcht their authority to the height; else why do they translate *hupereconti* in the 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. Supreame (though we all acknowledge the Kings lawfull Supremacie, and that place acknowledgeth the King to be but an Ordinance of man:) when as neither doth the word properly so signifie; & in *Rom.*13.1 *hupereconsais*, is translated [*higher*] (it signifieth high; to translate it [*higher*] saith *Beza*, is dangerous ;) which place, many apply onely unto the King, as if he onely was the higher power, whereas neither had the Romans at that time (to whom *Paul* writ) any King; nor can a man well imagine that the Kings personall Will and Commands are the higher Powers (in the plurall number) but rather the Kings legall power, *viz.* in *England* the King and Parliament; and then who are they that doe resist and take up arms against the higher Powers, and what may they expect to receive, *verse* 2 ? So the word *Episcopos*, which is usually translated Bishop, signifies no more but an [*Overseer*] and is used both by the Heathen Orator, and by the Septuagint in the Old Testament, for one that hath the oversight in civill matters , or State commodities; so *Diaconos* used for a *Deacon*, is applyed to the civill Magistrate, *Rom.* 13.4. and the same word which is translated Bishop, 1 *Tim.*3 *Tit.*1, &c. in *Act.*20.28. is translated Overseer ; some have suspected the reason this, lest any man or woman looking there, *v.*17. seeing them to bee no more then bare Elders (*Presbuterous*) and seeing the same persons, *v.*28. called Bishops, (*Episcopous*) should judge that in Scripture Bishops were no more then Presbyters or Elders; and therefore translated 28. *Overseers*. Moreover, where do we find the jurisdiction of our Prelates in Scripture ? rather it seemes they were to looke to one flocke - *ter* exhorts the Elders, 1 *Pet.*5.1. to do the work of Bishops, (*Episcopantes*) over the Flock with them, no way as Lords over Gods, Cler-

So Psal. 105.15. 1 *Chron.* 16.21.

Speake of such times ere the Ieiwes had a King.

ry v. 33. *Mark* 10. 22. *Luke* 22. 25. 3 *John* 9. and so it is *Act.* 20. 28. neither is ordination in Scripture appointed to Diocesian Bishops, but to the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. with 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. neither doe I find that in the Petition of the University of *Oxford* to this Parliament, for the continuance of Diocesan Bishops, they mention one place or ground of Scripture for that Function.

Obj. But such Bishops were in the Apostles times (as *Rodgers* saith on *Act.* 36.) or at least in the Primitive Church.

Answ. First, we find no such thing as Arch-bishops, Diocesan Bishops, Arch-deacons, &c. in the *Acts or the Epistles of the Apostles*; nay, Mr. *Rodgers* himselfe confesseth, that Arch-bishops are not found in Scripture. 2. Nay, I have read it (as a cleere case) that Bishops temporall Baronies began in *England* in the dayes of *William* the Conquerour (not long since) and they were first called Spirituall Lords, here, in the dayes of *Rich.* 2.

Secondly, its affirmed by the best Antiquaries that I have read, that no Diocesan Bishops can be found in the first hundred yeeres after the Apostles times, in any sound Author (not palpably suspected for spurious;) yea, some adde the first two hundred years.

Thirdly, when Bishops Superiority did first begin in the primitive times, it was only Priority of Order, not Power, as the Speaker in Parliament, or Prolocutor in the Synod hath, *pro tempore*, for better order-sake.

Fourthly, if it could be proved that they began sooner, yet we know that the mystery of iniquity began to work betimes, 2 *Thes.* 2. confirmed by *Peters* Caveat, 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. and *Diotrephes* his practise, 3 *John* 9.

Fiftly, however *ab initio non fuit sic*; their pedigree (like those in *Ezra*) not being found in the sacred Roll, they cannot rightly be said to be *jure divino*; antiquity is no ground for errour, for old *Adam*, and old *Leaven* must be put off, *Ephes.* 4. and purged out, 1 *Cor.* 5.

I come to the third opinion of them who affirme Arch-bishops, Bishops, Diocesan, &c. to be *jure humano*, claiming their authority from men onely, (as other Governours for the civill State in a prudentiall way) and I dare not thinke but many very godly brethren have thought and said this way their office in it selfe to be lawfull; yet so that the supreme judicatory of the Kingdome, who had power to set them up, and grant them privileges, as in the dayes of *Wil.* the Con-

quer-

pator, *Rich. 2 H. 6. H. 8.* have power if they see them inconvenient to a Church or State, to remove them (*ejusdem est condere & tollere*) they that have power to repeale Lawes, Patents, Grants, Proclamations of the King, &c. have power upon just grounds to alter this Hierarchie. Besides, some Lawyers have affirmed that the Hierarchiall Government was never formally established by any Lawes of *England*; and if it had, yet the main life and soule of Episcopacy is taken away already by an Act passed this present Parliament with his Majesties consent: however the supreme Judicature finding it not commanded, or necessary by Scripture (and so within their verge) and inconvenient to Church and State, may repeale it. The Petition of *Kent* this present Parliament layes downe twenty severall inconveniences in their Government, as that they doe with a hard hand over-rule all other Ministers: suspend and deprive many godly, religious and painfull Ministers; themselves seldome preach the Word of God; restraine painfull preaching, as Lectures, and afternoon Sermons on Sabbath dayes; encouraged Papists Priests, and Arminian bookes; deformed many Churches with Popish Pictures, and Altars; practised and enforced many Innovations, as standing at all Hymns, and at *gloria patri*, turning to the East, like them *Ezek. 8. 16.* bowing to Altars (or as they speak) before the Altar, though in Scripture Language, worship to, or before an Idoll, is all one, compare *Mat. 4. 9. eam prosce nes mi*, fall downe and worship me, is the same with *Luke 4. 7. eam prosce nes coram me*, worship before me (reading second Service; besides the faults in their Courts; and about these present warres, their late Canons, and their owne Fact which cast themselves out of the House of Peers, and many others, as changing the Rubrick, by leaving out in the Letany this Prayer [*From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us,*] changing the Rubrick about the accustomed place of Prayer, whereby they have brought in second Service; Altar and Eastern Worship; besides the change of the Scots Common-Booke, preferring the reading of the Apochrypha, before Canonicall Scripture, for so the Kalender saith, that certain bookes and Chapters of the old Testament are left unread, as, [*least edifying*] and yet Apochrypha is brought in the roome: Some men have observed, that seldome was there a constant conscionable ministery, when Bishops Sees were, and seldome did Religion thrive well in those places; *Nicholaus Glemingius* spake somewhat harshly of the Kingdome of

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France, wherein he lived, he said there was more justice in hell then in that Kingdom; for in hell (saith he) there is no just or innocent man oppresst or wronged, nor unjust and wicked men escapes unpunished, but its otherwise with us (saith he) some have said as much of this government; others have added, that they conceive that its usually inclining to Popery. *Luther* hath a saying, *nunquam periclitatur Religio, nisi inter reverendissimos*, Religion is never so much in danger, as among the right Reverend. And since I read *Adam Contzen* the Jesuit, his politiques (of which I gave you a large tast the last time that I was here) who taught (and some have followed him close) how to cheat a people of their Religion, in ten particulars, I have often paused of one of his rules, teaching us how to bring in Popery, *quis enim* (saith he) *puritanos in Anglia non facile redigat in ordinem* (you know what the Popes reducing to order is) *Si Episcoporum approbationem abillis exturquent*; but enough of this.

I come now to the 2. Branch in the Covenant, which concerns other kingdoms with ours, and that is in Sect. 5. [*That we shall according to our place and interest, endeavour that these three Kingdoms may remaine conjoyned in a firme peace and union to all posterity;*] hee that knowes what a sweete pleasant, and good thing peace is with a mans owne selfe, in a mans family, Peace in a Parish, Town, City, Riding, County or Kingdome, I conceive should indeavor to keep the peace of two, of three kingdoms, and the rather, when he knows and feeles what the want of peace is in any of these, *Psal.* 133. 1. Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is; some things are good but not pleasant, as Salves, Corrosives, Phyficke, &c. some pleasant but not good, as sin, poyson, &c. but this peace (part of our Saviours Legacy) and union is both good and pleasant; yea [*behold*] how good, &c. I know not what can be objected against this, except by such who Salamander-like, love to live in the fire of contention, and thrive best in troubled waters. The *Athenians* banished *Demades*, for saying, God send me good trading this year, (now by his trade he was a Coffin-maker for dead men, and they thought hee had not cared if all they had dyed, so hee might have had good trading,) I feare too many think so of these wars (as that ever thrice noble Lord *Br.* said in his last speech before his sudden death:) but let such men see their doom, *Amos* 1. 9. for my owne part I shall ever wish with the Poet, *jam gens una sumus, Cunctis sic sinat in evum.*

I post now to the 3. branch of this Covenant, concerning our owne kingdome, which is either for the maintaining of what is good, *Sect* 3. or discovery and suppressing of what is ill, *Sect* 4. First,

First, to preserve what is good, as *viz. The Priviledge of Parliaments*, a thing which we have formerly protested, and which hath hitherto bin thought to be the prop and safety of a Kingdome, and which the King saith, hath sufficient power to prevent all tyrannie; which yet I cannot conceive how they could do, if in no case they might defend themselves by arms. 2. *We are to preserve the Liberties of the Kingdomes.* 3. *The King Majesties person and authority in the preservation, and defence*, &c. so far as we from wishing an hair of his Majesties head to perish, from lifting up our hands against the Lords annointed, 1 *Sam.* 24. 6. *That we covenant to preserve his Majesties person and authority*, yet so as we desire to preserve, withall, *the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdome.*

Estote viri liberta agitur.

Ob. But do you not fight with the Armies wherein the King is, and against his command, and may you not hurt the Kings person what ever you intend, as a certain man did King *Ahab*, 1 *Kings* 22. 34.

An. First, I am perswaded of others, that which (if I know my owne heart,) I am sure of for my selfe, that they would rather with *Hubbert* have put betwixt the arrow and the King, and with their owne death save the Kings life (if so indangered) or with *Lilla*, who ran betwixt the murderer and King *Edwin*, and received the mortall wound intended against the King, then wittingly, and wilfully hurt their dread Soveraigne. 2. Its not the act of private persons, but of the representative body of the Kingdome, be trusted with the preservation of our Religion and Liberties. 3. Should the King (though against their will and knowledge receive any hurt, as sometimes in justs and torneaments, as Kings have done; or as a great Earl of this Kingdome was slaine by those who intended nothing more then his rescue and delivery from their hands that led him captive towards *Hull* in a Barge: or as the King of this Land was in the Earl of *Lieecsters* Army, & yet the subjects that unwittingly did it, were adjudged loyall, and no Rebels, in Parliament after.) I say, should the Crown of Our Head receive any harme, it would be their and our griefe, who seeke His returne to His great Counsell; and did those who pretend His Safety, love Him as they say, I should think they should vow as the people did, 2 *Sam.* 18. 3. *Thou shalt not go forth to battel,— thou art worth ten thousand of us:* however, the Kings Honour, *the Preservation of His Legall Power, Religions purity, the Kingdomes safety, according to the fundamentall Lawes of this Land*, are (I conceive) that thing aimed at, and *Mordecaies* innocency will at last appear even to the King, *Psal.* 37. 6.

nHibert of S. Clare saved H. 2. at the siege of Bridgenorth Castle.

Earle of Kingston. Hen. 3. An. 1266.

Secondly, its for the suppressing and discovery of what is ill [*Sect.4.*] *We shall with all faithfulnesse indeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill instruments*, &c. and to confesse freely that which seems to me the most materiall objection to a tender conscience, though least objected by the other party, as far as I could yet see lyes in this Section.

Ob. viz. Suppose my husband, father, brother, sister, children, &c. be talking merrily together, and one cast out a Malignant word, or jest, am I bound to discover them, that my husband, father, childe, &c. may be brought to publike tryall, and receive condigne punishment?

An. With humble submission to those that penned the Covenant, and appointed it, and to my reverend brethren, I conceive, 1. that every idle, merry word, or mistake, doth not render a man an Incendiary, Malignant, or evill Instrument, but onely such words and deeds as apparently tend to the hindering of the *Reformation of Religion*, the dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people (for I conceive, that the words immediately following, expound who are meant by malignants, &c.) 2. If a brother do overshoot himself privately, yet I conceive, Christs rule is to be used here, *Mat.* 18.15,16. *First, admonish thy brother privately between him and thee; if that will not serve, then take with thee one or two, but if he appeare obstinate and wilfull, then must the publike shall be regarded more then the private Cabine*; and if they were as neer as *Maacha*, (in this chapter, 2 *Chron.* 15.16.) *fiat justitia*, *Deut.* 13.8. and 33.9.

Fourthly, the last branch is concerning our selves [*Sect.* 6,7.] *That we will assist and defend all those that herein Covenant with us*; but this is but according to our place and calling, as the rest are, and not to doe any thing rashly and groundlesly upon our own heads; Againe, this we did protest long since. 2. That we will neither turn to the contrary party nor stand Neuters; is not there a curse aswell against not helping the Church, as hurting it? not helping the Church, is reckoned a not helping God, *Jud.* 5.23. shall not men be condemned as well for not helping Christs members, as for hurting them, *Mat.* 25.42,---45. I know there are many Gallio's that care neither for Religion, nor Laws, King nor kingdom, so that they may have their ease & profit, many *Ambitiosters*, like him, of whom the Orator tels, that in the civill wars betwixt *Anthony* and *Augustus Cæsar*, he with much industry taught his Crowes their severall notes: the one to say (like a Parrat) *Hail, Emp*

our Authority; the other, *Hail, Emperour Augustus!* that so whether part soever prevailed, he might seeme to have beene on that side: and such halvarni Neuters, *Rev.* 3.16. are usually most abhorred by God (*Mat.* 12.30 *He that is not with me, is against me*) and men, and fare worst; like the men of *Succoth*, *Judg.* 8.5,6,7. When *Gideon* pursued *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, he sent to the men of *Succoth* for provision for his army: *Stay* (say they) *let us first see who is the strongest side*; but see how it fared with them, *Gideon* taught them to their cost to stand neuters, *v.* 16,17. I wish there be none of the Gadarens spirit left, who had rather have Christ remove from their native country, and a legion of Divels stay there, then their goods and estate should suffer.

And lastly, *We professe our unfeigned desire to repent of our sins, Nationall and Personall, to amend our lives, and to give good example to others*; what can be well objected against this, I know not, except by those who desire to say some thing, like *Pilate*, who askes what is truth, but never stayes to heare for answer; or those who have a great mind to write *Aristides* name on the Oyster-shell, onely *quia nimium justus*.

Ob. And yet perhaps some doubting conscience may adde, Oh but I have taken a contrary Oath to this?

An. If thou hast taken any unlawfull Oath, as the Oath lately taken in this City, by many of the Gentry, and Inhabitants of the City and County of *York*, viz.

I A. B. doe hereby testifie and declare, That our Soveraign Lord King Charles *is the true and lawfull King of* England, *and of all his other Dominions; and that neither the two Houses of Parliament, the People, nor any part of them, have any power or authority over him or the Crowne: neither ought they or any of His Subjects of this Kingdome of* England, *or his other Dominions upon any pretence whatsoever to take up armes against his Sacred Majesty, His Person, His Crowne, His Generalls or Souldiers authorized by Him, nor may they by any authority or pretence whatsoever make or levie warre within this Kingdome or his other Dominions, or any way use his Royall Authority or Name for that purpose, without his evident and publike consent first obtained. And I do further Sweare, That I will beare true Faith and Allegeance to his Sacred Majesty and his Crowne, and to my might and power will assist him, his Generals, and all under their command, against all such as have taken or shall take up armes against him, or them, or that have or shall take up armes within this Kingdome, without his Majesties evident, publike, and reall authority: And especially against* Robert *Earle of* Essex, *and* Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, *(pretended Generals for the Parliament)*

ment) *and all their Associates and Confederates, and all others whatsoever, that derive not their authority by particular Commissions from his Majesty and his Generalls. And I do further declare from the bottome of my heart, that divers of the Scottish Nation having presumed to enter into this Kingdome in a warlike manner, without his Majesties evident and publique authority first obtained and published I will readily and to the utmost of my ability, with the hazzard of my life and fortunes, assist his Majesty, his Generalls, and all under their commands, in resisting, opposing, and pursuing such Scots in an Hostile way as Rebels and Traytors against his Majesty, and enemies to the Crown of* England. *And I do further sweare, that I will to my power assist and defend all such as shall take this Oath in pursuance of the same, and particularly defend this City and Garrison of Yorke, and during my residence there, oppose all such as shall make any attempt against it, and all such Plots and Designes as shall come to my knowledge, that may be prejudiciall to his Majesties service, or destructive to the Forces raised by his Majesties Commissions, I will from time to time discover to his Majesties Generall, or the Commander in chiefe of this County, and in their absence to the chief Officer for the time being of this Garrison. And all this I doe unfainedly sweare, without any equivocation, or mentall reservation.* So helpe me God.

Which Oath wants 1. both sufficient and just authority to enjoyn it, viz. th Kings legal power, and supream judicatory, (and for ought we see, the kings personall command also,) to impose an Oath being if not an higher Power then to make a Law, yet it is a power of making a Law of most high nature.

2. A right end, when I looke sadly upon the wofull differences of this distracted Kingdome, and consider that this war is acknowledged by the Papists to be *bellum Papale*, and that all the Papists in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, are either in purse, person, or affection against the Parliament, yea and our Travellers and Merchants affirme to us (upon their knowledge) that there are publique and constant Masses, Prayers, and large contributions in divers Countreyes and Kingdomes, beyond Seas, for the Catholique Cause now in *England*. 2. When I consider the Irish Remonstrance, which assures us that all this is but the prosecution of a Plot of 20. years standing in that Kingdome to set up Popery, and roote out the Protestants of these three Kingdomes, and after of *Holland*, and all other Churches. 3. When I consider that grand Plot found amongst the papers of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *May* 3. 1643. mentioned in *Romes Masterpiece*,) confirming the truth of the foresaid design, and that the Pope and Cardinall *Barberino* were chief heads of this Plot, that scarce all *Spain*, *France*, or *Italy*, can yeeld so many

many Jesuits as *London* alone, that they had there set up a society called the Congregation of Propagating the Faith, whereof the Pope was head, and Cardinall *Barberino* his Substitute, that their end was the Reformation (you know what the Popes Reformation is) of *England* and *Scotland*; that the chiefe patron of, and agent in it here, was father *Con* the Popes Legate, who resided here at the Court of *England* for the effecting of the same, a man in great favour, that many Courtiers were of this Plot, and revealed to them the Kings secrets, that they met at one Captain *Reads* house in *Long-Acree-street* usually every day, but certainly on those dayes whereon they dispatcht the post; that they plotted how to set those two Kingdomes at oddes, and so to ruine the Protestants in both, and for the end to quell *Scotland* the better, to put the Papists (upon pretence of necesity) into Arms, contrary to all known Law of this Land; that if the King did not consent to the setting up of Popery, they had provided an Indian Nut to poyson him (which father *Con* often shewed in a boasting manner.

Thirdly, When I see so few Proclamations to proclaime the Irish Rebels to be Traytors, and scarce one of those to be seene, and those Rebells who have in short time cut the throats and murdered above 100000. Protestants in *Ireland*, entertained into great places of command and trust in this Kingdome.

Fourthly, When I see those still in favour and unpunished, who were adjudged great delinquents, by all men, even by those men who now have deserted the Parliament, and by them acknowledged to be the incendiaries, and causes of all our troubles, and guilty of endeavouring to subvert our Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and Proprieties, &c.

Fifthly, And consider likewise what endeavour there was to bring up the Notherne Army against the Parliament, soone after the beginning of it, confessed by those who were parties, and should have bin actors in it, and craved pardon.

Sixthly, When I heare so many in every place (who are wholly in opinion against the Parliament) acknowledge, that if their owne side prevailed, the Kingdome would be undone by Papists, &c. and that in their conscience they think the Parliament to be generally more pious, just, godly, and their carriages far better.

Seventhly, When I consider how exactly this plot is carried and suits with the rules laid downe by *Adam Contzen* [illegible]

his Politiques, *L.* 2. teaching how to cheate the Protestants of their Religion, and bring in Popery, (of which I formerly acquainted you.)

Now all this and much more which might be easily added (as the confessions of some persons who have returned to the Parliament, after the tryall of both parties, &c.) sadly considered; I cannot see what good end either they that commanded, or they that tooke this Oath could have, wherein they sweare that to their might and power they will assist and defend his Majesties Generalls, and all under their command, against all such as have or shall take up Armes against them, the *finis agentis*, and especially the *finis rei*, seeme to me not to be good.

3 That Oath seems also to falle in the matter, I will only glance at one or two particulars in it. 1. [That the two Houses of Parliament have not any Authority or Power to take up Arms against his Majestie Generalls or Souldiers authorised by him, without his evident and [absolute consent.] For, First, this is expresly contrary to the judgment of the supreme Court in this Kingdome, from which there is no appeale legally. Secondly, It seemes to be against his Majesties judgment in his Answer to the nineteene Propositions, who saith, [That the power legally placed in both houses of Parliament is more then sufficient to prevent and restraine the power of Tyranny.] Which cannot be if ever any King should raise but 1000. men to establish Tyranny, except the two Houses which shall then be, have power to raise up Armes to prevent it. Thirdly, consult Scripture, 2 *Chron.* 26. 18, 19. 2 *King.* 6. 32, 33. so *David* raised 600. men for his defence against the Cavaliers with *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 23. 12, 13. & 1 *Sam.* 22. 8, 17. 1 *Sam.* 14. 39, 44, 45. 1 *Chron.* 12. 1, ---23. 2 *Kings* 1. 9. --- 12. and such like.

Fourthly, this is contrary to the practise of the *Hollanders*, *Rebells*, and others, and of the *Scots* (who yet were declared loyall Subjects since their first comming into *England* of late, both by King and Parliament.)

Fifthly, this is against the Judgement, not onely of *Parens Buxtorfius*, &c.) But of Bishop *Bilson*, (of Christian Obedience,) *Grotius* (*De jure belli & pacis*) *Barclay*, and others.

Sixthly, If the two Houses in no case have authority to raise Armes what was our Religion, Lawes, Liberties, Proprieties worth, if ever

any King would overthrow them.

Secondly, the Oath seemes unlawfull, in that they sweare (*To their might and power to assist his Majesties Generalls, and all under his Command, against all such as, &c. and especially against* Robert *Earle of* Essex, *and* Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, &c.] For were not these so appointed and required by the supreme Legislative power of the Kingdom, who in their Declaration and Remonstrances prove their doings herein to be according to the fundamentall Lawes of the Land; and other Bookes lately published makes it appeare that herein they have not usurped his Majesties Prerogative, but that this is agreeable to the practise of former Parliaments. The same may be said concerning the next cause, of their swearing to oppose the *Scots* as Rebels, &c. who come not in, till legally called, &c.

Let all those therefore, who either out of feare, or 2. Ignorance, or 3. hope of Gaine or preferment, or 5. of Malice against any of the other side, or to the truth, tooke this Oath, first repent of what they did amisse, ere they enter into any other Covenant, and leave that as a publique testimony of their repentance for their publique error. Thou oughtest to be heartily sorry for thy sin in taking of it, but no way to goe and continue in it; to break it is part of thy repentance which God calls for. Our Casuists name six kindes of unlawfull Covenanting, (and which we are bound to breake) as, first, when its against the Laws of God; secondly, when against the wholesome Lawes and publike good of the Common-wealth, &c. When *Herod* made his rash Oath, was he bound to keep it, or rather was he not bound to breake it? *Mark* 6.23. so those that sware to kill *Paul*, *Act.* 23: 12, 14. sinned in making such an Oath, but were bound in conscience to break it. *David* had made an unadvised Oath, but doth this godly *David* keep it? 1 *Sam.* 25.22. No! so soon as he was informed of his errour, had received better light, (though but from a woman) he breakes the Vow, and blesseth God for her advice, and that light he had received, 1 *Sam.* 25.3 1, 32, 33. If thy case be so, go and doe thou likewise. But this day is much spent, your busines great, I now espie Land, and its time I should; only give me leave (I beseech you R. H. & R. W.) seeing I see these are petitioning times, some of you appoint every Tuesday and Thursday for receiving Petitions, others receive petitions every day; let me (I say) tender two Petitions this day (though Friday) and I have done; the 1. and least is to you, the 2. and last is to God.

First, to you my humble Petition is, that all you who are to enter into this Covenant this day or hereafter, that you have a speciall care 1 To prepare and fit your selves before. 2. That you rightly enter into it. 3. Carry wisely after.

First, be prepared, and fit your selves before hand, for its a part of Gods worship, *Deut.6.13.* and 10 20. If a private Covenant twixt two subjects, and that about temporall matters, be called the Oath of God, 1 *Sam.*18 3. with *Chap.*20 8. how much more the Nationall Covenant with God, which is about matters both Sacred and Civill, and is *totum politico theologium*? its done in the presence of the Almighty God, we lift up our hands to the most high God; nay, its a joyning our selves to the most holy jealous God, *Jer.*50.5. *We draw neere to God, therefore must put off our shooes*, *Exod* 3.5. its a kind of matrimoniall bond, therefore away with all strumpet affections, else what have wee do to take Gods Covenant in our mouthes, *Psal.*50.16. When you are to receive the Seal of the Covenant, the Lords Supper, you know you should prepare, nay, have a sufficient preparation, 2 *Chron.*30.3. so should you also be prepared for this; and that, 1. by mourning and repenting for former breaches of Covenant, both Personall and Nationall. I will name four sorts of Vowes that I feare we have broken. 1. That of Baptisme renewed often in the Lords Supper. 2. Vows made on our beds of sickneſſe, *et erat at demon*, &c. we forget, when recovered, as the Lepers did *Luk* 17. and like *Hezekiah*, we return not to God according to his mercies, 2 *Chron.*32.33. 3. Vowes made in times of some great judgments, dangers, and distresses of a Nation, oh, then we vow much. 4. Our Nationall Vowes, Protestations, and Covenants, and for our breaches of these Vowes, God hath sent his drawne sword to avenge the quarrell of his Covenant, *Lev.*26.25. till we may also cry out with *Pharoahs* servants, Knoweſt thou not that all *England*, yea, and *Ireland* too, are almost destroyed, *Exod.*10.7. or with *Jeremiah*, *Oh my bowels, my bowels, I am pained to the heart, because thou hast heard oh my soul, the sound of the Trumpet, and the alarm of War*, Jer. 4.19. *When Judah returned and strake Covenant with God, they went weeping and mourning*, Jer.50.4,5.

Secondly, come with a resolution and zeal to keep it, what ever it may cost thee. *Jer.*50.5. they come with their faces thitherward, firmly set on that way; not like that great King of *France*, who when *Bees* stirred him to appeare more boldly and resolutely for Gods Cause; answered, I will never wade further into the Sea, then I can wade out

again;

againe when I will; but like that latter *Elijah*, I meane *Luther*, who first up learned, godly (yet timerous) *Melanthon* thus, Brother *Melanthon*, If it be the cause of God let us follow it close; if not, let us lay it quite aside, not like *Issachar*, *Gen.* 49.13,14.

Thirdly, pray much before, that God would direct, fit and inable you every way for it; but I hasten.

Fourthly, come with knowledge, sweare in judgement, *Jer.* 4.2. he that sweares rashly he knowes not what, must needs have a small care to keep it. 2. In taking it, 1. doe it reverently, its in the presence of the most High; a joyning our selves to the holy God, a piece of his worship, *Eccles.* 5.2,6.

2. Sincerely, think not to juggle and dissemble with the All-seeing God, or to say, I have lift up my hand indeed (but I sware not) *Juravi lingua, manum levavi, mentem vero injuratus gero*; lifting up our hand is an outward expression of swearing, used in Scripture, * *Gen.* 14.22. and binds as much as kissing the Bible, laying our hand on the book, putting hand under the thigh, *Gen.* 24.2,3. subscribing with the hand, *Esa* 44.5. sealing *Neh.* 9.13, &c.

3. Doe it willingly and cheerfully, and not for feare, gaine, or any of those by-ends which I formerly mentioned; thus in Text, this Covenant was taken with all the heart; *And all Judah rejoyced at the Oath*, v.15. There was never a Malignant or Recusant amongst them all, 2 *Chron.* 15.15. so 2. *King.* 23.3.

4. Enter this Covenant with God in the strength of the grand Covenant in Christ Jesus, and not in our owne power; Come not to it in thy sins, lest thou get a curse, *Psal.* 50.16,17.

Thirdly, after; 1. Often thinke of it, remember what thou hast done, and it will start three questions to thy selfe, 1. *Jeremies* question, *What have I done?* 2. The Jaylors question, *Act.* 16.30. and theirs, *Act.* 2.37. *What shall I doe?* and 3. *Josephs* question, *Gen.* 39.9. *How can I doe this wickednesse?* take heed of their great fault, *viz.* forgetting the Covenant of the Lord, *Psal.* 106.& 78.&c. *Jer.* 50.5.

Secondly, have a care to keepe it (thou mayest not play at fast and loose with God) have a care to stand to it as they 2 *King.* 23.3. 2 *Chr.* 34.32. and when any temptation comes, say with *Jephtah*, *Judges* 11.35 *I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot* [illegible] should be an everlasting Covenant, *Jer.* 50.5 *We cannot* [illegible] *quarrell with us and with our Kingdome*, &c. 16.25

* Trem. str. states it, jur. vi elata ma. ad Jehov. so Numb. 1. 30. nasbat, ethjib, lev. vi manum mentem gerens, stated, I swe.

thou to doe, to take my Covenant in thy mouth, seeing thou castest my words behind thee, *Psal.* 50.16,17. Say as *David*, *Psal.* 56.12. *Thy vowes are upon me O God!* and particularly consider that in this Covenant, thou promisest, 1. A reall reformation and amendment of life, On be not proud, covetous, wanton, returne not to folly, mortifie passions, &c. 2. Care of our people, families and all under our power and charge, as *Abraham*, *Gen.* 18. *Joshua*, *Josh.* 24.25 *David*, *Psalme* 101. Let Colonels, Captaines, Majors, Governours, Ministers, Parents look to this, lest God make our Souldiers, Servants, Children; &c. bitter and sharp rods to the publique and our selves. 3. Let us all oppose and labour to root out all superstition & prophanenesse, and Schisme, which much abounds, remember this is part of the Covenant, there are scandalous people as well as scandalous Ministers; are not Anabaptisme, and Antinomianisme, &c. within this part of our Oath? 4. Favour not desperate Delinquents and Incendiaries, plead not for them, finally labour to roote out whatsoeve is indeed contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godlinesse, admit not willingly a tolleration of any ill Doctrine, *Rev.* 2.14. or practise, *ver.* 6.

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First, to enter Covenant with God, hath beene the practise of the most Heaven-governed people; *Moses*, after forty dayes talke with God, *Josua* (not to name *Scotland*, *Holland*, *Geneva*, &c. yea, a thing well befitting a Prince, as *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, *Asa* &c. 2 *Chron.* 15, & 29 & *Kings* 23. 17

Secondly, learne wisdome by our adversaries, how they doe confederate together to further still, as *Mal.* 8.3,5,6,7,8. see the Oath in the last Canons, also that within this City and elsewhere lately.

Thirdly, the good successe, God hath generally given us since this Covenant was taken; before we passed with our staffe, and now we are become two bands *Gen.* 32.10.

Fourthly, Covenant breaking endangers soul damning, *Mal.* 15.4, though we sweare but to men; and though it prove to our particular dammage, we are bound to keepe it, how much more when it is to God.

Fifthly, breaking our Covenant brings sword, its part of Gods Covenant with us, to punish us if we breake Covenant with him, *Psalme* 89. 28,—42 (as before, *Lev.* 26.25.

Sixthly, breakes and divides a Kingdom, 2 *King.* 11.11.

Seventhly, makes gallant Armies flye and turne backe before their

enemies,

enemies, (though number many, and Armour passing good) *Psalme* 78. 9,10.

Eighthly, brings Gods sore wrath, *Eccles.* 5.2,4,6.

Ninthly, brings a Curse on the Breakers of it, (for so it implies a Curse if wee keepe it not, *Jerem.* 34. 18,19,20.) *Nehem.* 10.29. see *Ruth* 1. 17.

Tenthly, it brings all happy blessings to them that keepe it, *Psalme* 25.10.

Elenthly, *Aquinas* and the Schoolemen make this difference betwixt Vowes to God and men, that those with God are onely for our gaine.

But I will detaine you no longer with this my first Petition, but speed to my second and grand Petition to the Almighty God, for preparing, directing, strengthning and confirming grace, to enter into, and keep this Covenant with God, that he would blesse our meeting this day, that it may in all things be to his honour, Religions advancement, our King and Kingdoms true good and happinesse; this ancient (and * second) City of *England*, its comfort: this poore distressed (yet darling) Counties reviving and flourishing, your Honours and all our spirituall and temporall joy and benefit, through *Jesus Christ*.

* *Eboracu[illegible] prima ju[illegible] secunda te[illegible]*

The Postscript.

FOr the clearing and confirming of some passages in the foregoing discourse, especially concerning Episcopacy, (about which most doubts and scruples are made) let me by way of Appendex adde a few passages gathered out of some Speeches spoken in the House of Commons this Parliament, by some great masters of wit and reason; some whereof no man can suspect of too much favouring the Parliament, as, *viz.* the Lord *Faulkland*, one of his Majesties Secretaries, who was slaine in the service against the Parliament, the Lord *Digby* now with his Majesty, I will begin with some passages in a Speech of the Lord *Faulklands*, one of the wits of the age; in his Speech concerning Episcopacy, thus, *Who knowes not that this Kingdome hath long laboured under many and great oppressions both in Religion and Liberty*,—and that a great (if not a principall) cause of both these have been some Bishops and their

Faulkland Speech.

their adherents; a little search will serve to find them to have been the destruction of Unity and under pretence of uniformity; to have brought in Superstition and Scandall, under the titles of Reverence and Decency; to have defiled our Church, our Churches: ——to have been lesse eager against those who damne our Church, then against those, who upon weake conscience, and perhaps as weake reasons (the dislike of some commanded garments, or some uncommanded posture) onely abstained from it. Nay, it hath been more dangerous for men to goe to some neighbour Parish, when they had no Sermon in their owne, then to be obstinate and perpetuall Recusants; while Masses have been said in security, a Conventicle hath beene a crime; and (which is yet more) the conforming to Ceremonies, hath beene more exacted then the conforming to Christianity; and whil'st men for scruples have beene undone, for attempts upon Sodomie they have onely been admonished. And though (the Bishops) preaching was the occasion of their preferment, they after made this preferment the occasion of their not preaching. They have brought in Catechizing onely to thrust out preaching; cryed downe Lectures by the name of Factions. ——And as some ill members in our State first tooke away our Money from us, and after endeavoured to make our Money not worth the taking, by turning it into Brasse; so these men (viz. Bishops) used us in point of preaching, first, suppressing it to their power, and next labouring to make it such, as the harme had not been much if it had been suppressed, the most frequent subjects, even in the most sacred auditories being about the *jus divinum* of Bishops and Tithes, the sacrednesse of the Clergy, the Sacrilege of Impropriations, the demolishing of Puritanisme and propriety, the building of the Prerogative at *Pauls*; the introduction of such doctrines as admitting them true, the truth would not recompence the scandall.——

Yea, some of them have so industriously laboured to deduce themselves from *Rome*, that they have given great suspition, that ingratitude, they desire to returne thither, or at least to meete it halfe way; some have evidently laboured to bring in an *English*, though not a *Roman* Popery, I meane not onely the out-side and dresse of it, but equally absolute a blind dependence of the people upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themselves, and have opposed the Pope beyond the Sea, that they might settle one beyond the Water. Nay, common fame is more then ordinarily false, if none of them have found

found a way to reconcile the opinions of *Rome* with the preferments of *England*, & be so absolutely directly and cordially Papists, that it is all that fifteen hundred pounds a year can do to keep them from confessing it.— They whose Ancestors in the darkest times, excommunicated the breakers of *Magna Charta*, did now by themselves and their adherents, both write, preach, plot, and act against it,-- and wee have occasion enough to accuse them as the betrayers of our rights and liberties. We shall find some of them to have laboured to exclude both all persons, and all causes of the Clergie from the ordinary jurisdiction of the temporall Magistrate, and by hindering prohibitions (first by apparent power against the Judges, and after by secret agreements with them) to have taken away the only legall bond to their Arbitrary power, and made as it were a conquest upon the common Law of the Land, which is our common inheritance, and after made use of that power to turne their brethren out of their Free-holds, for not doing that which no Law of man required of them to do, and which (in their opinions) the Law of God required of them not to do,-- we shall find of them to have both kindled and blown the common fire of both Nations, to have both sent and maintained that book, of which the Author no doubt hath long since wished with *Nero, utinam nescissem literas*, and of which more then one Kingdome hath cause to wish, that when he writ that, he had rather burned a Library, though of the value of *Ptolomies*. We shall find them to have bin the cause of the breach, I will not say of, but since the Pacification at *Barwicke*,---- and truly I believe that we shall make no little complement to those, and no little Apologie for those to whom this charge belongs, if we shall lay the faults of the men, upon the order of the Bishops, upon the Episcopacie.— Mr. *Speaker*, I do not believe them to be *jure divino*, nay I believe them not to be *jure divino*; but neither doe I believe them to bee *injuria humana*, &c.

To this purpose, see some passages in the Speech of the Lord Digby *in the House of Commons Feb. 9. 1640. concerning Bishops.*

I protest sincerely M. *Speaker*, I cannot cast mine eye upon the *London* Petition, nor my thoughts on the practises of the Church-men that have governed it of late, but they appeared to me as a scourge imployed by God upon us for the sins of the Nation; I cannot think of that passage in the book of *Kings* [*He that escapes the sword of Hazaell shall Jehu slay, and he that escapes Jehu, shall Elisha slay.*] Me thinkes the vengeance

of the Prelates hath bin so laid, as if 'twere meant, no generation, no degree, no complexion of man shall escape it: was there a man of a nice and tender conscience? him have they afflicted with scandall in *adiaphoris*, imposing on him those things as necessary, which he thinks unlawfull, and they themselves knew to be but indifferent. Was there a man of a legall conscience, that made the establishments by law the measure of his Religion? him have they nettled with Innovations, with fresh introductions to Popery. Was there a man of a meeke and humble spirit? him have they trampled to dirt in their pride. Was there a man of a proud and arrogant nature? him have they bereft with indignation at their superlative insolence above him. Was there a man peaceably affected, studious of the quiet and tranquility of his Countrey? their incendiarisme hath plagued him. Was there a man faithfully addicted to the right of the Crowne, loyally affected to the Kings Supremacie? how hath hee bin galled with their new Oath? a direct Covenant against it. Was there a man tenacious of the liberty and propriety of the Subject? have they not set forth Bookes, or Sermons, or Canons, destructive to them all? Was there a man of a pretty sturdy conscience, that would not blanch for a little? their pernicious Oath hath made him sensible, and wounded, or I feare, prepared him for the Divell. Was there a man that durst mutter against his insolencies? he may inquire for *his lugs*, they have beene within the Bishops Visitation; as if they would not only derive their brandishment of the Spirituall sword from St. *Peter*, but of the materiall one too, and the right to cut off eares. And for my part I am so enflamed with the sense of them, that I finde my selfe ready to cry out with the loudest of the 15000 (Petitioners of *London*) down with them, down with them, even to the ground, &c.

I might adde to these, some passages out of a Speech of an honourable and judicious Gentleman, spoken in the House of Commons, Feb. 9. 164[illegible] the Speech is very large, in which he indeavours strongly to prove three things.

The Honourable Mr. N. F. Speech.

First, that civill jurisdiction in the persons of Clergie-men, together with their great revenews, and high places of dignity, is one great cause of the evills which wee suffer in matter of Religion. Secondly, that the sole and arbitrary power of Bishops in the ordaining and depriving of Ministers, and in Excommunication and Absolution, is another great cause of the evils we suffer in matters of Religion.

Third

Thirdly, the strict urging of Subscription, and Conformity to the Ceremonies, and Canons of the Church is another great cause of evill which we suffer in matters of Religion.

And he labours in the whole discourse sollidly to prove these and other great evills to arise not from the faults of the persons onely, but of their Offices and Functions, their Lawes and Constitutions, their Dignities, &c. and tells us of a complaint brought into the House this Parliament, of a son that was excommunicated onely for repeating a Sermon to his father being an Excommunicate person.

Let me close up all with the words of a judicious and learned Knight, in a Speech of his made also this Parliament to this purpose. Sir B. R. Speech.

We well know what disturbances hath beene brought upon the Church for vaine petty trifles: how the whole Church, the whole Kingdome hath been troubled, where, to place a Metaphor, an Altar; we have seen Ministers their wives, children & families undone against Law, against conscience, against all bowels of compassion, about not dancing upon Sundayes;---these inventions were but sieves made of purpose to winnow the best men, and that s the Devils occupation: They have a mind to worry preaching, for I never yet heard any but diligent preachers who were vext with these and the like devices. They despise Prophesie, and (as one said) they would faine be at some thing were like the Masse; a muzled Religion; they would evaporate and dispirit the power and vigour of Religion, by drawing it out into solemne specious formalities, into absolute and antiquated Ceremonies, new furbished up.--- so that even a Romanist hath bragged and congratulated in Print, that the face of our Church begins to alter, the Language of our Religion to change: and *Smectymnus* hath published that if a Synod were held *non intermixtis puritanis*, setting Puritans aside, our Articles and their Religion would soon be agreed. They have so brought it to passe, that under the name of Puritans, all our Religion is branded, and under a few hard words against Jesuits, all Popery is countenanced; whosoever squares his actions by any rule either divine or humane, he is a Puritan; whosoever would be governed by the Kings Lawes, he is a Puritan: he that will not doe whatsoever other men would have him doe, he is a Puritan; their great work their master-piece now is to make all those of the Religion, to be the suspected party of the Kingdome.

FINIS.

Errata in the Postscript, line 17. *for* defiled our Church, our Churches, *reade* defiled our Church, by adorning our Churches. *l.* 44. *for* ingratitude, read in gratitude.